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A STATISTICAL INQUIRY CONCERNING DOMESTIC SERVICE.

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During the summer of 1888 a statistical inquiry concerning domestic service was begun by the department of history, Vassar College. The investigation grew out of a belief that, while much had been written in regard to domestic servants, there had been little serious study of domestic service. No investigation of the question had been made by the United States Bureau of Labor, and of the twenty-two state bureaus only two had given any attention to the subject, and in both cases only partial reports had been made. In the reports of a few other bureaus the subject had been treated incidentally in connection with the general question of woman wage-earners. Its exclusion from statistical presentations of the labor questions had not been surprising since the various bureaus of labor, both national and state, consider only those subjects for the investigation of which there is a recognized demand. They are the leaders of public opinion in the accumulation of facts, but they are its followers as regards

choice of questions to be studied. Public opinion has not yet demanded a scientific treatise on domestic service, and until it does the bureaus of labor cannot be expected to supply the material for such discussion. In default of statistical and industrial information concerning domestic service as an occupation, the personal element in the relationship of employer and employe has been made the basis of all propositions for securing an improvement in the service. It was with the view, therefore, of ascertaining some of the industrial conditions under which domestic service is given and received that three schedules were prepared, one to be filled out by employers, one by employes, and a third miscellaneous in character.

The schedule for employers called for four kinds of information. The first related to servants, and included facts concerning the kind of service in which they were employed, the number so employed, place of birth, time in the service of their present employers, the amount of wages and rate of payment, and whether with or without board, the actual number of hours engaged in work, free time allowed each week, and vacation granted during the year, and whether with or without loss of wages. The second class of facts desired related to the industrial conditions under which service is given. They comprised information regarding the community, whether residence was in a city, village, suburb, or in the country, the leading industries of the locality, and to what extent women had been employed in these industries. The third class of facts sought concerned industrial conditions within the household, and included the length of time the employer had kept house, the number of servants employed during that time, the length of time boarded, the number of persons in the family, and whether the wages paid were higher or lower than during previous years. The fourth class of questions called for expressions of opinion as to the nature of the service rendered, whether it had been excellent, good, fair, or poor; whether it had been found difficult to secure

good domestic service, and what explanation of the difficulty could be given.

The schedule sent employes called for two classes of answers. The first concerned the facts relating to place of birth, the number of years engaged in domestic service, the length of time with present employer, the number of previous employers, wages received, the highest and lowest wages received from previous employers, whether the employe had ever been engaged in any occupation besides domestic service, and, if so, the nature of the employment, with a statement of the highest and lowest wages received in it. The second class of answers expected concerned the reasons why house-work had been chosen as an occupation, what reasons could be given why more women do not choose domestic service as a regular employment, and whether the employe would give up housework if another kind of work paying equally well could be found.

The third schedule asked for information in regard to training schools for domestic employes, public and private schools where household employments are taught, women's exchanges, co-operative housekeeping, food prepared at home for sale elsewhere, housework done by the piece or by the hour by persons other than regular servants, and a statement as to how far the results had been remunerative.

The schedules were printed and submitted to Hon. Carroll D. Wright and to Mr. C. F. Pidgin, whose work on "Practical Statistics" had been of help in making the original draft. These gentlemen gave valuable suggestions, and, after several printed revisions, twenty-five hundred sets of the blanks were distributed in January, 1889. They were sent out in packages of from five to twenty-five through the members of the class of 1888, Vassar College, and also through personal acquaintances. As a sufficient number of replies was not received, a second edition of twenty-five hundred sets was sent out in December, 1889. These were distributed through the class of 1889, and sets were also mailed, with a statement

of the object of the work, to the members of different associations presumably interested in such investigations. These were the American Statistical Association, the American Economic Association, the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, the Vassar Alumnæ, and the women graduates of the University of Michigan. They were also sent to various women's clubs, and many were distributed at the request of persons interested in the work.

Of the five thousand sets of blanks thus sent out, 1025 were returned filled out by employers, twenty being received after the tabulation was completed. These gave the facts asked for with reference to 2545 employes. The returns received from employers thus bore about the same proportion to the blanks distributed as do the returns received in ordinary statistical investigation carried on without the aid of special agents or legal authority. The reasons why a larger number was not returned are the same as are found in all such inquiries, with a few peculiar to the nature of the case. The occupation investigated is one that does not bring either employer or employe into immediate contact with others in the same occupation, and it is therefore believed that the relations between employer and employe are purely personal, and thus not a proper subject for statistical inquiry. Another reason assigned was the fear that the agitation of the subject would cause employes to become dissatisfied, while a third reason was the large number of questions included in the blanks, and the fact that no immediate and possibly no remote benefit would accrue to those filling them out. Another reason frequently assigned was that all of the questions could not be answered, and that, therefore, replies to others could not be of service. But several of the questions were framed with the understanding that in many cases they could not be definitely answered, as the question "How many servants have you employed since you have been housekeeping?" The fact that often no reply could be given was as significant of the condition of the service as a detailed statement could have been.

No success had been anticipated in securing replies from employes, but as any study of domestic service would be incomplete without looking at it from this point of view the attempt was made. As a result 719 blanks were returned filled out. In some instances employes hearing of the inquiry wrote for schedules and returned them answered. In a few cases correspondence was carried on with women who had formerly been in domestic service. The influences that operated to prevent employers from answering the inquiries made had even greater force in the case of employes. In addition there was present a hesitation to commit anything to writing or to sign a name to a document the import of which was not clearly understood by them.

The limited number of facts concerning which information could be given explains the small number of returns received to the third schedule,—about two hundred. The material thus secured will not be considered in this paper since it relates to subjects allied to domestic service rather than to the service itself.

The returns received were sent to the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, where, by the courtesy of the Chief of the Bureau, they were collated during the spring and summer of 1890 under the special direction of the chief clerk in accordance with a scheme of tables designed and presented by the writer. The general plan of arrangement adopted was to class the schedules with reference to employers, first alphabetically by states and towns, and second alphabetically by population. The schedules were then classed with reference to employes, first by men and women, and second by place of birth. The various statistical devices used in the Massachusetts Bureau were employed in tabulating the material and greatly facilitated the work, but it was at best a long and tedious process.

Fifty large tables were thus prepared, and by various combinations numerous smaller ones were made. The classification adopted made it possible to give all the results either in

a general form, or with special reference to men and women employes, the native born and the foreign born, and to all of the branches of the service. It was also possible to study the conditions of the service geographically, and with reference to the population and other industrial situations.

The most detailed tables made out concerned the wage question, including a presentation of classified wages, average wages with the percentage of employes receiving the same wages as the average and also more or less than the average, a comparison of wages paid at different times and of wages received in domestic service and in other employments. For the purposes of comparison, the writer also classified the salaries paid about six thousand teachers in the public schools in sixteen representative cities, as indicated by the reports of city superintendents for the year during which information concerning domestic service had been given on the schedules. Through the courtesy of a large employment bureau in Boston the wages received by nearly three thousand employes were ascertained and used for comparison. The most valuable results of the investigation possibly were those growing out of the consensus of opinion obtained from employers and employes regarding the nature of the service considered as an occupation.

The question must naturally arise as to how far the returns received through such investigation can be considered representative, and, therefore, how far it is wise for private individuals to undertake them on so extensive a scale. It is this phase of the subject rather than the more immediate problems affecting domestic service that this paper concerns.

It has seemed to the writer that the returns could be considered fairly representative. Investigations of this character must always be considered typical rather than comprehensive. It is difficult to fix the exact number to be considered typical as between a partial investigation and a census which is exhaustive. In some cases it is possible to obtain a majority in numbers, in others it is not. If the number of returns,

however, passes the point where it would be considered trivial, the number between this and the majority may perhaps be regarded as representative. By the application of a similar principle, the expression at the polls of the will of the twentieth part of the inhabitants of a state is recognized as the will of the majority. But, while the returns can be considered only fairly representative as regards numbers, they seem entirely so as regards conditions. It is believed that every possible condition under which domestic service exists, as regards both employer and employe, is represented by the returns received, and that therefore the conclusions drawn from these results cannot be wholly unreasonable. Moreover, the circulars were sent out practically at random, and therefore do not represent any particular class in society, except the class sufficiently interested in the subject to answer the questions asked. If the returns thus secured can be regarded in any sense as representative, the results based on them may be considered as indicating certain general conditions and tendencies, and, although the conclusions reached may be modified by later and fuller researches, they cannot be wholly overthrown.

Some specific reasons also lead to the same conclusion that the schedules may be used to denote conditions and tendencies.

The average family reached through the schedules numbered 4.86 persons. This does not vary materially from five, — the usual basis assumed.

It was found through the schedules that, of the total number of domestic employes represented, women formed 82 per cent and men 18 per cent. By the census of 1880 — unfortunately the latest available for this comparison — it was found that women formed 88 per cent of domestic employes and men 12 per cent. The slight discrepancy is explained by the fact that on the schedules choremen, furnace men, and other men employed in the house were classed as domestic

servants, while in the census enumeration they were denominated laborers.

The place of birth of employes represented on the schedules was as follows:—

TABLE I.
PLACE OF BIRTH OF EMPLOYES.

Person Reporting.	Number.			Percentages.		
	Native Born.	Foreign Born.	Not Given.	Native Born.	Foreign Born.	Not Given.
Employer.....	922	1,212	411	36.23	47.62	16.15
Employee.....	324	395	....	45.06	54.94	....

This shows that more than half the number considered were of foreign birth. In Massachusetts in 1885 the foreign born domestic servants formed 60.24 per cent of the entire number. This included only those persons in housework "engaged with remuneration."¹ In the Tenth Census of the United States it is found that, after eliminating the southern and border sections where the domestic servants are almost exclusively native born negroes, more than one-third of all domestic employes, 34.31 per cent, were, in 1880, of foreign birth.² As the ranks of domestic service have been recruited from the army of immigrants coming to this country since 1880, it is perhaps not unfair to assume that the above table represents the present tendency towards the employment as domestic servants of persons of foreign birth, especially in those sections most affected by foreign immigration.

The schedules also indicated the foreign countries having the largest representation in domestic service, as is seen by the following table:—

¹Census of Massachusetts, 1885. Part 2, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

²Tenth Census. Vol. I, p. 729.

TABLE II.
NUMBER OF FOREIGN BORN IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.

Place of Birth.	Person Reporting.			
	Employer.		Employee.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Ireland.....	653	53.88	217	54.94
Sweden and Norway.....	147	12.13	50	12.66
Germany.....	128	10.56	37	9.37
Great Britain.....	122	10.07	32	8.10
British America.....	104	8.58	42	10.63
Other countries.....	58	4.78	17	4.30
Total.....	1,212	100.00	395	100.00

The condition of the service as regards place of birth did not vary materially from this in 1880, as is evident from the following table which indicates the place of birth of all persons of foreign birth engaged in domestic service and the per cent of each nationality so engaged:—

Ireland,	47.73
Germany,	16.97
British America,	8.62
Great Britain,	7.61
Sweden and Norway,	7.45
Other Countries,	11.62

The variations of this table from Table II are indeed a confirmation of the representative character of the former. The relative rank of Sweden and Norway is much lower in the table drawn from the Census than in that taken from the schedules. But the emigration from Sweden and Norway had steadily declined from 1869 to 1879¹ and this materially affected the number in domestic service as given in the Tenth Census. In 1879 emigration from these countries revived and increased more than 25 per cent, reaching a maximum in 1882. This increase in numbers has shown itself in

¹*Arrivals of Alien Passengers and Immigrants in the United States from 1820 to 1890,* pp. 24-25.

domestic service, for in the proportion of women arriving in this country from 1881 to 1890, inclusive, Ireland ranks first, Germany second, Sweden and Norway third, and England fourth.¹ It has been noted in various census reports, national and state, that the concentration of women of foreign birth engaged in remunerative occupations is on domestic service. It is also true that, considering the proportion of persons coming to the United States at the age when persons most naturally enter domestic service,—between fifteen and forty-five,—Ireland ranks first, Sweden and Norway second, England third, and Germany fourth.²

A second variation of Table II from the census returns concerns the percentage of persons born in "other countries." But here again the variation proves rather the representative character of the schedules. It is impossible to state the exact number of Chinese in domestic service in 1880, owing to the defective classification of occupations in the census of 1880, but presumably the 11.62 per cent in domestic service born in "other countries" are Chinese.³

Another indication of the general representative character of the schedules comes from their geographical distribution. Replies were received from thirty-six states and the District of Columbia and from 338 different cities and towns. Of these 338 places 38 are classed by the Census Bulletin No. 52 as among the fifty largest cities in the United States in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9. ² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ This assumption is made because the total number of men engaged in the occupation at that time is given as 136,745. Of these 102,230 were born in the United States, and 17,516 in either Ireland, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, or British America. Those born in "other countries" number 16,999, or twelve per cent of the entire number of men in domestic service. Among women those born in "other countries" form only one per cent of the entire number of women in domestic service. As China is the only country not specifically enumerated in the census in which men are to any considerable extent engaged in domestic service, it is fair to assume that the 11.62 per cent born in "other countries" are mainly Chinese. At the time represented by the schedules the prohibitory act of 1882 was in force, and after the restriction act of 1882 the immigration to this country from China had been nominal. Between 1848 and 1876 the average annual departures had formed 40 per cent of the number of arrivals (*R. M. Smith, Emigration and Immigration*, p. 237), and if this same rate of departures was subsequently maintained, in 1889-1890 the number of Chinese in this country must have been comparatively small. It seems probable, therefore, that the percentage born in "other countries," 4.3, as represented on the schedules, was approximately correct. In view of these facts, Table II may be said to represent fairly well the distribution of the foreign born among the different nationalities.

1890. These thirty-eight cities contained 16.32 per cent of the total population of the United States in 1890. These cities were represented on the schedules by 999 employes, or 39.25 per cent of the total number of employes concerning whom reports were received from employers. This would seem to show that the force of gravity exerted by the large cities acts with more than twice the power on the class of domestic employes that it does on population as a whole. A comparison is possible here between these facts and similar ones presented by the census of 1880. In that year the fifty largest cities contained 15.53 per cent of the total population of the country, but they contained 27.91 per cent of the total number of domestic servants. The influence exerted by the large cities on domestic employes was thus at that time nearly twice that exerted on the total population. But it is seen by the Eleventh Census bulletins that the urban population has increased during the last decade more rapidly than during any previous one, and it is perhaps fair to assume that the attraction exerted by them on domestic employes has increased in the same ratio.

Some interesting facts were also ascertained in regard to wages, showing the general conformity of wages in domestic service to the principles governing wages in other industries. The following table shows the average wages received in different sections,—the general average being used in this place merely for convenience:—

TABLE III.
AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION.

Geographical Section.	Average Weekly Wages.	
	Men.	Women.
Pacific coast.....	\$7.57	\$4.57
Eastern section.....	8.68	3.60
Middle section.....	7.62	3.21
Western section.....	6.69	3.00
Border section.....	4.86	2.55
Southern section.....	3.95	2.22
The United States.....	\$7.18	\$3.23

The classification of sections was made with reference to conditions apparently similar as regards domestic service. The Pacific Coast included California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and Washington; the Eastern Section, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; the Middle, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the Western, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; the Border, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, and Virginia; the Southern, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. The differences in wages noted in Table III apparently conform to the general variation in wages in the different sections as indicated by the Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor,¹ and also by an examination of a considerable number of reports of state bureaus of labor. The slight exception in the case of the wages of men on the Pacific coast is accidental, and due undoubtedly to the comparatively small number of returns received.

It was also found that in domestic service, as in other occupations, skilled labor commands higher wages than unskilled labor. This will be evident from the following table based on the schedules received from employers and employes and the returns from a Boston employment bureau.

In every instance it is seen that it is the skilled laborer—the cook—who commands the highest wages. The general servant who is expected to unite in herself all the functions of all the other employes named in the list becomes, on account of this fact, an unskilled workman, and, therefore, receives the lowest wages. The same principle holds true in the case of the seamstress and the laundress, the gardener and the choreman. It is difficult to make a deduction in the case of men employed in household service since no universal custom prevails, as with women employes, in regard to adding to the wages paid in money, board, lodging, and other personal expenses.

¹P. 68.

TABLE IV.
AVERAGE WEEKLY AND DAILY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Weekly Wages.		
	General Schedule of		Boston Employment Bureau.
	Employer.	Employee.	
WOMEN.			
Cook.....	\$3.80	\$3.64	\$4.45
Parlor maid.....	.....	.....	3.94
Cook and laundress.....	3.50	3.27	.....
Chambermaid.....	3.31	3.47	3.86
Waitress.....	3.23	3.15	3.76
Second girl.....	3.04	3.27	3.34
Chambermaid and waitress..	2.99	3.21	.....
General servant.....	2.94	2.88	3.16
MEN.			
Coachman.....	7.84	...	....
Coachman and gardener.....	6.54	.....	....
Butler.....	6.11	.....	....
Cook.....	6.08	.....	....
Daily Wages.			
WOMEN.			
Seamstress.....	\$1.01	.....	....
Laundress.....	.82	.....	....
MEN.			
Gardener.....	1.33	.....	....
Choreman.....	.87	.....	....

It also seems to be true in domestic service as elsewhere that the skilled laborer does his work better than the unskilled workman. The question was asked of employers, "What is the nature of the service rendered? Is it 'excellent,' 'good,' 'fair,' or 'poor?'" The replies show that, in proportion to the number of answers, the largest percentage of service characterized as "excellent" is rendered by cooks, while the largest percentage characterized as "poor" is given by general servants. These are, it is true, matters of opinion and without a fixed standard, which it is impossible to secure; such judgments can have no absolute value. But the fact is of interest as showing the opinion of a large number of house-

keepers. The following table will show the results in regard to these two classes of employees:—

TABLE V.
NATURE OF SERVICE RENDERED.

Occupation.	Total Number of Replies.	Not Answered.	Kind of Service Rendered.							
			Excellent.		Good.		Fair.		Poor.	
			Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Cooks	262	30	83	32	113	43	58	22	8	3
General servants ...	585	53	151	26	221	38	177	30	36	6

It was also found that the wages of men engaged in domestic service are higher than the wages of women. This will be seen by reference to Table III and Table IV. Two things, however, must be borne in mind: first, that nearly all the men classified as cooks are employed on the Pacific coast where wages are relatively high; second, that 40 per cent of men in domestic service do not receive board and lodging in addition to cash wages, while only two per cent of women so employed, principally colored women and laundresses, do not receive board and lodging. But, although these facts modify the discrepancy between the wages of men and women, they do not wholly remove it. Whether the difference is as great as in other occupations cannot be stated.

There was also found a slight tendency towards an increase in wages paid by employers, as is seen by this table:—

TABLE VI.
COMPARISON OF WAGES PAID.

Wages Paid.	Number.			Percentage.		
	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Same as last year.....	414	1,638	2,052	87.72	79.02	80.63
More than last year.....	54	368	422	11.44	17.75	16.58
Less than last year.....	4	67	71	.84	3.23	2.79

Much has been said in regard to the immobility of labor as an obstacle in the way of the industrial advancement of women. It was found by the schedules, however, that this obstacle does not exist in domestic service in respect either to immobility of place or to immobility of occupation. It has been seen that the number of foreign born domestics form 47 per cent of the entire number as reported by employers, and 55 per cent as reported by employes. It was also found that of the native born employes 27 per cent did not reside in the same state in which they were born. More than two-thirds, therefore, of all employes concerning whom the facts were stated did not reside in the country or state in which they were born. Moreover, this statement is below the truth as it does not take into account the number of changes made within a single state, and considers only one change from place of birth to present residence. An illustration of this latter point is seen in the case of one employe who was born in Ireland, engaged in service in New York, removed to Chicago with her employer and afterwards drifted to Minnesota, where the report was made. The mobility as to employment was found to be nearly as great. Twenty-eight per cent of employes reported that they had been engaged in other occupations, while 50 per cent expressed a readiness to go into some other employment provided it would pay them as well as domestic service. It is of interest to note some of these occupations from which women have gone to domestic service. The list includes apparently nearly every form of work in every kind of mill and factory, farm work, cigar-making, sewing, dress-making, millinery, tailoring, crocheting, lace-making, carpet making, copying, places as cash-girls, sales-women, nurses, post-office clerks, compositors, office-attendants; six had been teachers; others, ladies' companions, governesses, and matrons. It is of interest also to note that the per cent of native born women who have been engaged in other occupations is slightly higher than the per cent of foreign born,— thirty-one to twenty-five.

If a comparison is made between these facts and those

presented in the Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Working Women in Large Cities, it will be found that the mobility of place is less among working women of the class represented by the Report than among domestic employes. This is due largely to the fact that foreign born women enter domestic service in greater numbers than they do other occupations. The Report shows that of the native born women 20 per cent do not reside in the state in which they were born.¹ The Report also shows that 45 per cent of the women represented had been engaged in some previous occupation.² Domestic service thus does not differ materially in point of mobility from other occupations in which women are engaged, if the factor of foreign birth is eliminated. Employers have come to believe that more stability rather than more mobility should be encouraged in this occupation.

These general reasons and specific illustrations have been given in order to show that while the returns received through the schedules can in no sense be considered an exhaustive presentation of the subject of domestic service, or even of a single phase of it, they may be used to indicate fairly well certain present conditions and tendencies.

Some of these conditions and tendencies have been suggested in the facts already given. Other industrial conditions may be shown through other tables.

One of the most striking conditions of the service, especially in view of the unwillingness of many persons to enter it, is the fact that the wages received are relatively and sometimes absolutely higher than the average wages received in other wage-earning occupations open to women. This has been suggested by previous tables, but will be more evident from the following detailed tables:—

¹P. 249. ²P. 325.

TABLE VII.
CLASSIFIED DAILY AND WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupations. Schedule of Employers.	Earning Weekly.												Over \$14. Total.	
	Under \$1.	\$1, but under \$2.	\$2, but under \$3.	\$3, but under \$4.	\$4, but under \$5.	\$5, but under \$6.	\$6, but under \$7.	\$7, but under \$8.	\$8, but under \$9.	\$9, but under \$10.	\$10, but under \$11.	\$11, but under \$12.	\$12, but under \$13.	\$13, but under \$14.
WOMEN.														
General servants.....	1	33	251	276	39	5	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	606
Second girls.....	17	50	76	18	4	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	170
Cooks and laundresses.....	4	21	70	41	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	141
Cooks.....	6	38	104	86	31	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	280
Chambermaids and waitresses.....	2	9	44	69	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	133
Chambermaids.....	1	6	18	45	18	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	92
Waitresses.....	3	43	32	23	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	103
Nurses.....	1	11	30	46	18	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	125
Housekeepers.....	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Total.....	9	89	495	619	252	62	8	11	1	3	5	...	...	1,654
MEN.														
Butlers.....	3	2	5	3	8	6	4	3	6	2	1	...	1	44
Coachmen and gardeners.....	2	7	11	18	22	21	3	12	10	11	4	1	1	123
Coachmen.....	1	5	8	10	14	17	3	9	12	7	11	3	6	109
Cooks.....	1	...	1	3	2	3	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	17
Total.....	7	14	25	34	46	47	13	25	31	20	16	4	8	293
Earning Daily														
WOMEN.														
Laundresses.....	123	121	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	244
Seamstresses.....	48	51	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	105
Total.....	171	172	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	349
MEN.														
Gardeners.....	26	87	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Choremen.....	24	14	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	50	101	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	161
Schedule of Employees.														
Earning Weekly.														
General servants.....	1	16	152	187	24	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	383
Second girls.....	...	11	18	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39
Cooks and laundresses.....	4	6	22	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45
Cooks.....	1	3	20	39	23	11	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	101
Chambermaids and waitresses.....	...	6	15	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	23
Chambermaids.....	1	7	9	6	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	25
Waitresses.....	2	14	16	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36
Nurses.....	1	5	10	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	18
Housekeepers.....	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Total.....	2	27	221	318	80	19	4	1	1	1	...	...	...	674

TABLE VIII.¹
AVERAGE WEEKLY AND DAILY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Person Replying.					
	Employer.			Employee.		
	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent Receiv- ing More than the Average.	Per Cent Receiv- ing the Same or Less than the Average.	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent Receiv- ing More than the Average.	Per Cent Receiv- ing the Same or Less than the Average.
WOMEN.						
General servants.....	\$2.94	52.97	47.03	\$2.88	55.87	43.13
Second girls.....	3.04	40.00	60.00	3.27	53.85	46.15
Cooks and laundresses.....	3.50	43.97	56.03	3.27	53.33	46.67
Cooks	3.80	45.71	54.29	3.64	43.56	56.44
Chambermaids and waitresses	2.99	58.65	41.35	3.21	52.17	47.83
Chambermaids.....	3.31	47.83	52.17	3.47	52.00	68.00
Waitresses.....	3.23	43.69	56.31	3.15	44.44	55.56
Nurses.....	3.53	36.00	64.00	3.03	33.33	66.67
Housekeepers.....	5.15	25.00	75.00	5.15	25.00	75.00
Total.....	\$3.23	47.88	52.12	\$3.11	50.95	49.05
MEN.						
Butlers.....	\$6.11	50.00	50.00	.....	.....	.....
Coachmen and gardeners.....	6.54	44.72	55.28	.....	.....	.....
Coachmen.....	7.84	46.79	53.21	.....	.....	.....
Cooks.....	6.09	47.06	52.94	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	\$6.93	46.42	53.58	.....	.....	.....
	Average Daily Wages.					
WOMEN.						
Laundresses.....	\$0.82	53.28	46.72	.....	.....	.....
Seamstresses.....	1.01	39.05	60.95	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	\$0.90	49.00	51.00	.....	.....	.....
MEN.						
Gardeners.....	\$1.33	56.56	43.44	.....	.....	.....
Choremen.....	.87	43.59	56.41	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	\$1.29	53.42	46.58	.....	.....	.....

¹ In the classification in these two tables the employes in several large boarding houses were omitted. All of those included under the term "nurses" are nurse-girls, with the exception of the few receiving the highest wages.

The following tables also show the classified and average wages paid in the principal occupations as reported by a Boston employment bureau:—

TABLE IX.
CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Earning Weekly.										Total.
	\$1, but under \$2.	\$2, but under \$3.	\$3, but under \$4.	\$4, but under \$5.	\$5, but under \$6.	\$6, but under \$7.	\$7, but under \$8.	\$8, but under \$9.	\$9, but under \$10.	\$10, but under \$11.	
General servants...	8	183	577	143	3	....	....	....	....	....	914
Second girls.....	2	41	363	69	....	....	....	....	....	....	475
Cooks.....	1	3	39	347	145	28	4	3	....	4	574
Chambermaids.....	....	3	40	37	2	....	....	....	....	....	82
Waitresses.....	....	4	29	16	1	....	....	....	....	....	50
Parlor maids.....	....	....	11	45	1	....	....	....	....	....	57
Nursery maids.....	7	45	119	57	3	1	1	....	....	....	233
Laundresses.....	....	1	9	27	15	1	....	....	....	....	53
Total.....	18	280	1,187	741	170	30	5	3	....	4	2,438

TABLE X.
AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent Receiv- ing More than the Average.	Per Cent Receiv- ing the Same or Less than the Average.	Highest Wages Received.	Lowest Wages Received.	Total Number.
General servants.	\$3.16	40.5	59.5	\$5.00	\$1.50	914
Second girls.....	3.34	62.2	37.8	4.50	1.50	475
Cooks.....	4.45	50.0	50.0	10.50	1.00	574
Chambermaids...	3.86	57.4	42.6	5.00	3.00	82
Waitresses.....	3.76	48.4	51.6	5.00	2.50	50
Parlor maids,....	3.94	80.4	19.6	5.00	3.50	57
Nursery maids....	3.26	51.3	48.7	7.00	1.00	233
Laundresses.....	4.44	44.4	55.6	6.00	2.00	53
Total.....						2,438

It is seen from Table VIII that the average weekly wages in domestic service are \$3.23,—a fair average in this case, since 48 per cent receive more than the average and 52 per cent the same or less than the average. The average domestic employe, therefore, is able to earn in money during the year \$167.96,—a fair estimate, since in seventy-five cases out of every hundred the vacation granted women employes during the year is given without loss of wages. This forms, however, but a part of the annual earnings. To this sum must be added board and lodging, fuel and light. For the equivalent in quality and quantity to that furnished by the employer the employe would in general be obliged to pay for board, lodging, and other incidental expenses at a reasonable estimate five dollars per week, or \$250 annually, deducting board for two weeks' vacation. The total annual earnings of a domestic employe, therefore, amount to nearly \$420. To this the negative facts must be added that there is no expense for laundry work, and that the work involves few personal expenses in the way of clothing, and that these necessary expenses are often partially met through gifts from the employer. Again, the position entails no expenditures for car fares in going to and from work, or other demands made in a business way by other occupations, and it involves no outlay for appliances for work as a sewing machine, type-writer, text-books, etc. Moreover, no investment of capital is necessary in learning the principles of the work, since employers have thus far been willing to make of their own homes training-schools for employes. The domestic employe is therefore never obliged to pay back either the capital invested in preparing for her work or the interest on that amount. It thus seems possible for the average household employe to save annually nearly \$150 in an occupation involving no outlay or investment of capital in any way, and few or no personal expenses.

A comparison may be made between these wages and the annual salaries received in sixteen representative cities by

the women teachers in the public schools. The following tables show the annual classified and average salaries received¹:—

TABLE XI.
CLASSIFIED ANNUAL SALARIES OF WOMEN TEACHERS.

City.	EARNING ANNUALLY.												Total.
	Under \$300.	\$300, but under \$400.	\$400, but under \$500.	\$500, but under \$600.	\$600, but under \$700.	\$700, but under \$800.	\$800, but under \$900.	\$900, but under \$1,000.	\$1,000, but under \$1,200.	\$1,200, but under \$1,500.	More than \$1,500.		
Albany, N. Y.	1	26	34	153	22	11	6	....	....	1	....	....	254
Atlanta, Ga.	7	1	32	31	3	4	1	....	....	2	....	....	81
Baltimore, Md. ....	....	....	628	246	101	1	1	40	3	....	....	....	1,020
Cambridge, Mass. ....	....	1	22	19	146	10	3	11	2	....	....	....	214
Cincinnati, Ohio. ....	....	....	26	50	59	359	98	1	5	19	2	619	....
Cleveland, Ohio. ....	....	....	119	124	269	89	16	8	14	10	4	653	....
Detroit, Mich. ....	....	54	63	111	20	121	35	5	3	14	1	427	....
Lawrence, Mass. ....	....	....	43	49	6	....	2	1	1	1	1	....	103
Lowell, Mass. ....	....	....	8	5	155	9	1	....	....	1	1	180	....
Milwaukee, Wis. ....	....	2	76	72	197	19	7	15	9	2	....	399	....
New Haven, Conn. ....	....	54	73	38	107	14	11	....	1	2	1	301	....
New Orleans, La.	2	172	174	3	18	7	....	5	1	....	....	382	....
Paterson, N. J. ....	....	55	97	26	8	9	2	....	....	....	....	197	....
Rochester, N. Y.	45	57	287	3	7	14	6	....	1	2	....	422	....
St. Louis, Mo.	61	36	182	362	122	133	42	20	12	13	13	996	....
Syracuse, N. Y. ....	....	35	52	139	21	3	13	1	....	....	....	264	....
Total.....	116	493	1,916	1,431	1,261	803	244	107	52	67	22	6,512	....

The concentration of salaries is seen to be on those between \$400 and \$500, the average salary being \$545. This sum represents the full amount of wages received. To ascertain the amount it is possible to save annually there must be deducted at least \$260 for board and lodging, and \$25 for laundry expenses, leaving a cash balance of \$260. Out of this sum, however, must come other necessary expenses, as

¹ The figures are taken from the annual reports of city superintendents. The attempt was made to find the average salaries in the fifty largest cities, but many cities do not publish in detail the salaries paid. The reports used were those for the year ending in 1889,—the year for which reports were made through the schedules,—with the exception of Paterson where the report for 1890 was used. Half-day teachers are omitted as far as known. In cities having separate schools for colored and white children, the teachers in colored schools are included where the salaries paid are the same as those paid in white schools of the same grade,—otherwise they are omitted.

TABLE XII.
AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES OF WOMEN TEACHERS.

City.	Average Salary.	Per Cent Receiving More than the Average.	Per Cent Receiving the Same or Less than the Average.
Albany, N. Y.....	\$505.73	27.70	72.30
Atlanta, Ga.....	459.05	48.12	51.88
Baltimore, Md.....	500.92	37.12	62.88
Cambridge, Mass.....	628.35	22.32	77.68
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	702.87	20.60	79.40
Cleveland, Ohio.....	625.60	43.20	56.80
Detroit, Mich.....	607.96	96.02	3.98
Lawrence, Mass.....	511.16	26.22	73.78
Lowell, Mass.....	608.66	6.71	93.29
Milwaukee, Wis.....	588.00	63.59	34.41
New Haven, Conn.....	536.41	52.96	47.04
New Orleans, La.....	429.78	28.08	71.92
Paterson, N. J.....	455.20	22.84	77.16
Rochester, N. Y.....	431.63	57.34	42.66
St. Louis, Mo.....	574.68	34.89	65.11
Syracuse, N. Y.....	494.98	67.04	32.96

the outfit for work, as books, stationery, etc., travelling expenses, car fares, society fees, etc., and a large item for clothing. There should also be deducted the interest on the capital invested in securing the education demanded in preparation for the work. If all of these items are considered, and the greater social demands entailed by the position, it seems possible for the average domestic employe to save at least as much money as the average teacher in the city schools. This comparison is probably relatively higher in favor of the teacher than it should be, since in the average wages for domestic employes are included the wages received in agricultural districts where wages are lower than in cities. It is also a comparison between skilled workers on the one hand, and on the other hand an occupation in some of the subdivisions of which the laborers are unskilled.

It has, unfortunately, not been possible to compare the wages received in the same city by teachers and domestic employes. A comparison, however, can be made between the wages received in Boston for domestic service and by the

teachers in the public schools in the neighboring city of Cambridge.

The average wages received by a cook in a private family in Boston are, as has been seen by Table X, \$4.45. This judgment is based on 574 returns, and is an exact average, since 50 per cent receive more than that amount, and 50 per cent the same or less than that. She therefore earns annually \$231.40 plus \$275 for board, lodging, fuel, light, and laundry expenses, or \$506.40.

Fifty-six per cent of the teachers in the city schools in Cambridge earn annually \$620, or, deducting \$285 for board, etc., for fifty-two weeks, \$335 in money. This is \$103 more than is received by the Boston cook, but out of this must come numerous expenses entailed by the position from which the domestic employe is exempt. The cash annual savings in the two cases cannot vary materially.

It will also be seen by reference to Tables X and XII that the Boston cook earns absolutely more than does the average city teacher in Albany, Atlanta, Baltimore, New Orleans, Paterson, Rochester, and Syracuse.

A second comparison is suggested by the investigations conducted by the Department of Labor. Through these it was found that the average annual earnings of the working-women in twenty two typical cities are \$272.45.¹ This average takes into consideration time lost,—a factor which does not enter into domestic employments except in a casual way. The annual earnings, therefore, of the class of women represented by the report are much less than those of the domestic employe. The same point is also illustrated by a comparison of the amounts saved in the two occupations. In eleven cities investigated by the Department of Labor the average amount saved was less than \$50; in nine cities it was \$50, but under \$100, while in only two cities was it more than \$100, the highest average amount being \$111.² The highest of these

¹*Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 520-529.

²*Ibid.*, p. 625.

averages is small in comparison with the amount it is possible to save in domestic service, as has been suggested.

No question in regard to earnings saved was asked on the schedule sent to employes, but many statements on this point were voluntarily made by employes. One writes, "I have put \$100 in the savings-bank in a year and a half. I had at first \$10 a month, but now I have \$12." Another states, "I can save more in domestic service than in any other kind of work." A third says, "My expenses are less than in any other work." An employe who receives \$35 per month states, "I choose housework in preference to any other principally because for that I receive better pay. The average pay for store and factory girls is eight and nine dollars a week. After paying for board and room-rent, washing, etc., very little is left, and what is left must be spent for dress,—nothing saved."

The question as to comparative amounts saved has also been asked the cashiers of banks in small cities and towns where factories are found, and the personnel of depositors is known by the officials of the banks. No records are of course kept, but the opinion has been several times expressed that the factory employes are not as saving, as a class, as are domestic servants. In one place where about 2000 factory employes are found, it was stated that no woman employe had a sum to her credit as large as had been deposited by a domestic.

The conclusion seems to follow that high wages are not the only determining factor in the choice of an occupation.

Another interesting fact in regard to wages is shown through Tables VII and IX, that while the wages paid in domestic service are on the average high, the occupation offers few opportunities for advancement in this direction. The tables show but five instances, with the exception of nurses,¹ where the weekly cash wages reach \$10 per week, and only

¹ The returns for this class are somewhat confused, information being given in some instances in regard to trained nurses, and in others, the majority of cases, concerning nursery maids.

seven others where they rise above \$8 per week. In the two occupations, the wages in which have been compared with those in domestic service, while the general average wages are low, it is possible to reach through promotion a comparatively high point. The fact that the plain of average wage in domestic service is a high one is an inducement for women of ordinary ability to enter the occupation. On the other hand, the fact that the wage limit is soon reached, must act as a barrier in the case of many who are specially ambitious.

It has been stated that wages received in domestic service are not affected by the vacation granted during the year, since in the majority of cases no deduction in wages is made where a short vacation is given. The following tables illustrate this:—

TABLE XIII. VACATION GRANTED DURING THE YEAR.

Reported by Employes.	Women.		Men.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Total number of employes.....	2,073	....	472	....
Not reported.....	898	....	267	....
Not applicable (laundresses, etc.).....	203	....	50	....
Reported and applicable.....	972	....	155	....
Vacation granted	971	....	153	....
Time not specified.....	202	20.78	34	21.94
Less than one week.....	127	13.07	42	27.10
One week.....	150	15.43	18	11.61
More than one week, less than two.....	25	2.57	5	3.22
Two weeks	210	21.61	33	21.29
More than two weeks	257	26.44	21	13.55
No vacation.....	1	.10	2	1.29

TABLE XIV. VACATION GRANTED WITH OR WITHOUT LOSS OF WAGES.

Reported by Employers.	Women.		Men.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
With loss of wages.....	210	21.63	20	13.07
Without loss of wages.....	723	74.46	133	86.93
Half wages.....	37	3.81	....	....
Cost of board added.....	1	.10	....	....
Total.....	971		153	

A short vacation granted during the year without loss of wages has in many localities come to be regarded by employes as one of the prerogatives of the occupation, and not, as formerly, a special privilege given. All things considered, it is a matter of surprise that so much rather than that so little time is given. In other occupations a vacation can be granted employes during a dull season without loss to the employer. But the household machinery cannot stop action without disaster. A vacation to household employes means that the employer must perform a double amount of domestic work, or provide for special assistance,— often a difficult and even impossible task.

It is also true that employers, as a rule, grant employes a certain amount of free time each week. Reports were given on this point in regard to 1672 employes, and in only 43 cases was this privilege not granted. But apparently no uniform custom prevails in regard to the specific time in the week thus given. It was found that different employers had made 123 classes of combinations of the seven afternoons and seven evenings of the week, thus disproving the common belief that the custom is universal of granting Thursday afternoon and Sunday evening. In 68 of the classes mentioned, one or more afternoons are included, and in 15 others some portion of Sunday. In the case of more than a thousand employes, at least one afternoon each week is given, while more than four hundred employers give a part of Sunday.

The statement has been made that in only a limited number of instances is board not included in the wages paid women employes. The following list shows the only instances reported of both women and men employes:—

Second girls,	2	Butlers,	1
Cooks and laundresses,	1	Coachmen and gardeners, . . .	52
Laundresses,	39	Coachmen,	45
Chambermaids and waitresses,	1	Gardeners,	76
Chambermaids,	1	Choremen,	12
Waitresses,	1		

In addition to board, which is considered a part of the wages paid, and annual vacation without loss of wages and free time each week, which are considered prerogatives of the place rather than special privileges, many employers grant special favors not of necessity implied in the engagement made with employes. To the question asked employers, "Do you grant any special privileges?" 30 answered "No," and 175 give no answer; 800 enumerated special privileges, and these formed 68 different classes. The most important of these were single rooms, medical care and attendance when sick, use of daily papers, books and magazines, evening instruction, sitting-room for visitors, no restriction as to visitors, use of bath-room, sewing-machine, and horse and carriage when distant from church, seat in church and at table, except when guests were present. Many other privileges are mentioned, but these are the ones most frequently granted. 70 per cent of employers state that they furnish each employe a single room; but one-half of this number employ only one domestic. In many cases a large room is given for every two domestics, with separate furniture for each. 146 employers specify the use of the dining-room, and 94 families give the use of a special sitting-room. All of these favors shown indicate that, with the single exception of a seat at the family table, the domestic is as much a part of the family she serves as is the average boarder of the household in which he resides.

The attempt was made to ascertain the actual working hours in domestic service. No complaint is more often made than of irregularity in this particular, and the results as given below seem to justify the judgment.

The table represents, moreover, only the general irregularities in working hours. The question is complicated by the industrial and social conditions in every household. Ten hours may represent in one family the average daily working hours, but the actual working hours may be for five consecutive days eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve. It is the irregularity in the distribution of working time rather than the

TABLE XV.
ACTUAL DAILY WORKING HOURS.

Occupation.	Number Working						Not Answered.	Total.	Per Cent Working			
	10 Hours.	11 Hours.	12 Hours.	Less than 10 Hours.	More than 12 Hours.	10 Hours.			10 Hours.	11 Hours.	12 Hours.	Less than 10 Hours.
WOMEN.												
General servants.....	149	28	91	142	45	183	638	32.75	6.15	20.00	31.21	9.89
Second girls.....	29	6	26	40	21	52	174	23.77	4.92	21.31	32.79	17.21
Cooks and laundresses.....	25	7	21	21	26	42	142	25.00	7.00	21.00	21.00	26.00
Cooks	58	9	41	45	43	92	288	29.59	4.59	20.92	22.97	21.94
Laundresses.....	94	11	16	36	3	91	251	58.75	6.88	10.00	22.50	1.87
Chambermaids, waitresses	34	4	20	21	20	36	135	34.34	4.04	20.20	21.21	20.20
Chambermaids.....	23	3	10	17	6	37	96	38.98	5.09	16.95	28.81	10.17
Waitresses.....	46	3	2	7	10	39	107	67.65	4.41	2.94	10.29	14.71
Nurses.....	25	8	25	8	19	45	130	29.41	9.41	29.41	9.41	22.35
Seamstresses.....	57	2	4	26	....	18	107	64.04	2.25	4.50	29.21	....
Housekeepers.....	....	....	....	1	....	4	5	....	....	....	....	....
Total.....	540	81	256	364	193	639	2,073	37.66	5.65	17.86	25.38	13.45
MEN.												
Butlers.....	11	....	10	5	7	13	46	33.34	....	30.30	15.15	21.21
Coachmen and gardeners	31	8	26	20	10	35	130	32.63	8.42	27.37	21.05	10.53
Coachmen.....	27	4	18	5	10	48	112	42.19	6.25	28.13	7.81	15.62
Gardeners.....	52	6	12	23	8	25	126	51.49	5.94	11.88	22.77	7.92
Choremen.....	7	1	2	11	3	17	41	29.17	4.17	8.33	45.83	12.50
Cooks.....	7	....	3	3	1	3	17	50.00	....	21.43	21.43	7.14
Total.....	135	19	71	67	39	....	472	40.79	5.74	21.45	20.24	11.78

Per Cent Working	Women.	Men.
Ten hours.....	37.66	40.79
Less than ten hours.....	25.38	20.24
More than ten hours.....	36.96	38.97

amount of time demanded that causes dissatisfaction on the part of employees. It is difficult to see how this objection to domestic service can ever be wholly overcome, although undoubtedly the irregularities in many households could be somewhat lessened were the subject carefully considered. "You are mistress of no time of your own," writes one em-

ploye; "other occupations have well defined hours after which one can do as she pleases without asking anyone."

The question was asked of employes: "What reasons can you give why more women do not choose housework as a regular employment?" The reasons assigned may be classified as follows:—

Pride, social condition, and unwillingness to be called servants.	157	Girls are too lazy,	8
Confinement evenings and Sundays,	75	Health considerations,	8
More independence in other occupations,	60	Girls are too restless,	6
Too hard and confining,	42	Too few privileges,	6
Other work pays better,	42	Hard work, little pay,	5
Lack of consideration by mistresses,	38	Other occupations easier,	4
Hours too long,	38	Different tastes,	4
Do not like housework,	19	Bad character of some, reflects on others,	3
Do not know how to do house-work,	12	Receive no encouragement,	3
Can live at home by working in shops,	11	Too lonely and meals alone,	3
		Constant change in work,	3
		Shop work cleaner,	2
		No chance for promotion,	2
		Miscellaneous reasons, one each	11
		Total,	562

Only one of the reasons given above, "lack of consideration by mistresses," concerns the personal relationship existing between employer and employe, and only 38 persons out of 562, or 7 per cent of the entire number, assign this as an objection to domestic service. The reasons that apparently weigh most heavily against domestic service as an occupation are the industrial and social conditions under which it is performed. The conclusion must follow that any attempt to improve domestic service by bringing about merely better personal relations between mistress and maid must fall far short of reaching the end desired. No improvement is possible which is not based on a thorough study of the actual, not theoretical, objections to the employment as they exist in the minds of employes in comparison with the objections found to other occupations.

The question was asked of employers: "What explanation of the difficulty (of securing good domestic servants) can you give?" The replies may be classed as follows¹:—

Fault of employees,	432
Economic reasons,	408
Fault of employers,	218
Social reasons,	121
No difficulty exists,	45
Total,	1224

The question was also asked of employers: "How do you think the difficulty could be lessened or removed?" These replies may be thus classed:—

Applying the Golden Rule,	277
Training schools for servants,	242
Better supervision,	138
Elevating domestic service,	99
Better gradation of wages,	91
Co-operation,	61
Better business relations between mistress and maid,	49
Withholding recommendations from incompetent help,	39
Teaching housework in the public schools,	25
Different kinds of immigration,	20
Service books as in Germany,	12
Simpler mode of living.	12
Miscellaneous reasons,	25
	1090

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the reasons given by employers in explanation of existing difficulties or the remedies proposed by them. It must suffice to call attention to the discrepancies between the reasons urged by employes against domestic service as an occupation, and the remedies proposed by employers for removing the difficulties they have observed. The belief is sometimes forced upon

¹ One other class of replies received ought to be noted. One of the clerks who assisted in the tabulation reported one morning, "I find eighteen long answers containing no information." The difficulty experienced in the tabulation is undoubtedly sometimes found in the household,—long directions given by the employer, hopeless confusion in the minds of others as to what is really desired.

one that in no other occupation have so many and such varied measures of relief been proposed after so slight a diagnosis of the case.

The investigation of this subject and the discussion of the results obtained by means of it have not been considered a final settlement of the perplexing questions connected with domestic service. It is not believed that all, or even one of these questions can be settled as a result of it. But the investigation has been made as a special plea for a more scientific study of the subject on the part of the general public than it has yet received, for a recognition of its place in the industrial field on the part of statisticians and economic specialists. It is an ambitious hope that in time the great labor bureaus, always ready to anticipate any demand of the public for a scientific investigation of labor questions, will recognize a demand for work in this direction, and thus present far more satisfactory material to be used as a basis for subsequent discussion than has been possible through the work of an individual student.